

THEOPHANES NONNUS: MEDICINE IN THE CIRCLE OF CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS*

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The common opinion has it that in the realm of applied sciences Constantine VII not only initiated the famous handbook on agriculture but also commissioned a work on medicine which occasionally is even called a "medical encyclopedia."¹ The work in question is a little treatise on therapy, which its title says is dedicated to a Constantine Porphyrogenitus. For more than 300 years this addressee has been believed to be Constantine VII, although the evidence for this identification has never been thoroughly examined.²

The text, which was printed twice,³ is designed for use in everyday medical practice. Some 300 short chapters, arranged in the traditional fashion from

head to heels, deal with a great variety of diseases, their symptoms, causes, and treatment. At the end there are two special sections, one about diseases that may occur in any part of the body and the other about various kinds of poisoning.⁴ Each chapter usually begins with a definition of the disease it deals with, combined in most cases with a brief description of its principal symptoms. It may continue with a short remark about the causes that are held responsible for the condition. The closing section, which usually is the largest, is concerned with therapy, giving a number of prescriptions in most cases, often complemented by bloodletting or dietetical suggestions. The prescriptions are very terse, concentrating on the ingredients and their proportions. Instructions for the application of the medicines are rare and hints for their preparation rarely go beyond a *ἐνώσας*, a *μῆξας ὁμοῦ* or a similar phrase.

Thus the work is a practical vademecum, providing essential information in a condensed, readily accessible form, primarily—almost exclusively one might say—in the field of therapy.

This type of manual has a long tradition. Galen's vast "On the composition of medicines according to the seat of the diseases"⁵ is but the most voluminous example (fig. 1). Other specimens, more similar to this text, are the pseudo-Galenic books "On medicines that are easily procured,"⁶ parts of Oribasius' works for his son Eustathius and his friend Eunapius,⁷ or the third, fourth and fifth books of Paul of Aegina,⁸ to name but a few.

[The reader is referred to the list of abbreviations at the end of the volume.]

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¹See e.g., H. Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin und der epidemischen Krankheiten*, 3rd ed., I (Jena, 1875), 477; G. Costomiris, "Études sur les écrits inédits des anciens médecins grecs, 3," *REG*, 4 (1891), 100–101; Krumbacher, 2nd ed., 263, 614; I. Bloch, "Byzantinische Medizin" in M. Neuburger-J. Pagel, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, I (Jena, 1902), 560–61; P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, Bibliothèque byzantine, Etudes, 6 (Paris, 1971), 296; J. Théodoridès, *Les sciences biologiques et médicales à Byzance*, Les cahiers d'histoire et de philosophie des sciences, 3 (Paris, 1977), 31; Hunger, "Medizin," 305. The most recent contribution to this matter is L. Felici, "L'opera medica di Teofane Nonno in manoscritti inediti," *Acta medicae historiae Patavina*, 28 (1981–82; publ. 1983), 59–74.

²See p. 39 f., below.

³Noni, medici clarissimi, *De omnium particularium morborum curatione . . . liber*, nunc primum in lucem editus, et summa diligentia conversus per H. Martium (Strasbourg, 1568). Theophanis Nonni *Epitome de curatione morborum Graece ac Latine*, Ope codicum manuscriptorum recensuit notasque adiecit J. St. Bernard, I–II (Gotha-Amsterdam, 1794–95). Text and translation are a mere reprint of the 1568 edition. New is the large body of notes in which divergent manuscript readings are reported, problems of the text are discussed and many parallels in similar works are pointed out.

⁴Chapters 233–59 (II 216–84 Bernard) and 261–83 (II 290–356 Bernard), respectively.

⁵Galen (ed. Kühn), XII, 378 through XIII, 361.

⁶Galen (ed. Kühn), XIV, 311–581.

⁷Oribasius, (ed. Raeder) *Synopsis ad Eustathium, Libri ad Eunapium* (CMG VI 3). Parallel are mainly books 6 to 9 of the *Synopsis* and books 3 and 4 of the *Ad Eunapium*.

⁸Paul (ed. Heiberg [CMG IX]).

It is evident, then, that we are not dealing here with any kind of folk medicine but with a work that continues the practical tradition of ancient scientific medicine in the form it had taken in late antiquity.

As to the sources of this manual, the question seems to be rather complex. It is clear that the author does not follow one source only; he does not simply abbreviate or rewrite the work of one particular predecessor.⁹ If the author was a compiler, he was certainly fully versed in the literature of his field. A number of chapters when analyzed turn out to be almost completely patchworks of brief quotations taken literally from various older—never acknowledged—works of the same kind, rearranged in order to suit the compiler's purpose. There are, however, paragraphs in these chapters, mainly prescriptions, that do not turn up in these older works, not, that is, in the parallel sections of those texts that are accessible in printed editions. Moreover, there are other chapters of which nothing resembles older available parallels more than very vaguely. As more hitherto unpublished parallels—like Paulus Nicaeus—become available and the time-consuming work of scanning the sections of older works that are not parallel to the chapter in question goes on, a number of these unparalleled passages will be linked to their sources. Still, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the author is more original than we might expect him to be. In this context it is important to note that there are no apparent traces of any influence of Islamic medicine on the work.

The little book met with considerable success. The first printed edition had been based on one manuscript only. The second took five more manuscripts into account.¹⁰ So far I have discovered fifty

manuscripts, nearly all of which were copied in the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth century.¹¹ Most of these manuscripts contain the full text of the work. Within the families the text is surprisingly stable, but between them the differences are considerable. They may affect the micro-structure of the text—a specific ingredient of a prescription, for instance. More important for the textual physiognomy of the individual families, however, are the macro-structural divergences, consisting in the presence or absence of entire sections of the text—mostly prescriptions or groups of prescriptions. It is these features that determine the specific makeup of the families, which can, with respect to this, be called recensions in a way. Ten such recensions are now discernible. Six of these are attested by extant manuscripts for the fourteenth century, two more for the period around 1400. So the manuscript tradition seems to have been split up considerably even before the oldest extant witnesses were written, which shows that the text was widely used even before 1300.

The popularity of the text is also documented by the occurrence of a number of minor forms of transmission—typical for this kind of practical literature—in the manuscript tradition of this treatise. There is a carefully prepared version of the entire text in colloquial Greek of which we have a manuscript of the fourteenth century. In several instances parts of the work or a number of selected chapters are transmitted separately among other medical or non-medical texts; excerpts from the text are copied in the margins of parallel passages of other authors, just as this text itself attracts such marginalia, and it even occurs that parts of the work are transmitted in one and the same manuscript side by side with its full text.¹²

The next step also occurs: excerpts from this work are incorporated into similar texts. For instance the so called 'Αποθεραπευτική of Theophilus¹³ con-

⁹Felici (note 1 above), 61, repeats the old but erroneous belief that Oribasius and more precisely his *Collectiones medicae* are the source (at least the main source) of this little book: "infatti l'ordine e il contenuto dei capitoli è lo stesso delle *Collectiones* di Oribasio" (she uses this as an argument later on, 62, 67, 70). Nothing, however, could be less true. As Freind (note 33 below) showed already in 1725, our text has absolutely nothing to do with the *Collectiones medicae*, except for the opening phrase of their preface (see also below). The *Eclogae medicamentorum*, on the other hand (not by Oribasius but based on his work: Oribasius [ed. Raeder (CMG VI 2.2)]), to which Felici by a slip attributes the preface to the *Collectiones*, though one of the sources on which it occasionally draws, provided neither in content nor in arrangement the guideline for our text.—I cannot enter here into a discussion of the priority of either our manual or Leo's Σύνοψις τῆς λατρικῆς (in Ermerins, 79–221), which often are very close. My impression is that Leo draws on our text; but a more detailed demonstration than I can give here would be required to prove this.

¹⁰Martius' text is a slightly corrected printing of the text as it is contained in his manuscript, Monac. gr. 362 (not 589 as Felici

[note 1 above], 60, says). Bernard, in addition to Martius' edition, made use—through transcripts—of Vindob. med. gr. 26, 27, 32 and 50, as well as Paris. Coislin 335 (see p. XVII–XIX of his *praefatio*).

¹¹Paris. Suppl. gr. 764 may have been written in the late thirteenth century, Athen., 'Εθν. Βιβλ. 1502 was copied as late as the early seventeenth century. Felici [note 1 above], 61, listing ten manuscripts of the text, says that Paris. gr. 2091 contains "solo pochi capitoli"; it does, however, contain all the chapters from 134 (I 422 Bernard) on; likewise Vindob. med. gr. 26 contains the entire work, not "solo frammenti."

¹²For a detailed documentation of these points I must beg the reader's indulgence until my study of the manuscript tradition of Theophanes' works, which I have undertaken in preparation of a new edition, is published.

¹³A. P. Kousis has given a general idea of this compilation and published a number of excerpts in his "The Apotherapeu-

tains a chapter περὶ ἡμιτρεταίου ("On semitertian fever") which is nothing more than the 142nd chapter of the treatise we are concerned with here.

In a number of manuscripts this therapeutic manual is accompanied by one or two¹⁴ other texts, each of which is also transmitted independently from it. One is a treatise on foodstuffs of about thirty pages in print. It was published first by Ermerins¹⁵ and a little later again by Ideler,¹⁶ but from different versions: Ermerins' text ends in the middle of a chapter and omits all that follows in Ideler from p. 268, 24 τὰ στυφοντα on. Cohn showed that even Ideler's text is not complete, as there are manuscripts that divide the treatise into two books—p. 257, 7 to 268, 12 Ideler forming the first, p. 268, 13 to 281, 6 Ideler the second book respectively—and that each of these books has its own preface.¹⁷ In addition to Cohn it should be noted, though, that although the majority of manuscripts of either version contain the preface to the first book, the number of manuscripts that have preserved the division into two books, and with it the preface to the second of them, is very small.

The first book deals with the nutritive values of foodstuffs under general headings, listing items which exhibit the respective qualities, and the first

seven chapters of the second book continue in the same fashion. The remainder of the second book forms a counterpart to what precedes in that here individual foodstuffs—first vegetables and after that animal products—are listed with remarks on their respective dietetic properties.

As Felici has pointed out,¹⁸ the source of this text is Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, book three. This is true for all that is printed in Ermerins and even beyond that up to p. 270, 10 Ideler, for all the chapters, that is, dealing with specific qualities of foodstuffs. The long first chapter of our treatise is exceptional in that only very little of it is taken from the corresponding chapter in Oribasius (*Collectiones* 3, 15), whereas the bulk of the material must be derived from another source, which I have not been able to identify. From the second chapter on the text follows Oribasius exclusively and closely. The result is a considerably abbreviated version of his presentation consisting of literal borrowings for one half and of paraphrases of his text for the other. The arrangement of the chapters is, however, quite independent from the model.¹⁹

For the second part of the work, the chapters devoted to individual foodstuffs, the source is similarly Oribasius, *Collectiones*, books 1 and 2. The way in which the source is put to use is the same as before. Moreover, this time also the arrangement of the material follows the source with few exceptions. Many of Oribasius' chapters, however, have no equivalent in our treatise.²⁰

tic of Theophilus according to the (sic!) Laurentian Codex, plut. 75, 19" in Πρακτ. Ἀκαδ. Ἀθ., 19 (1944; publ. 1948), 35–45. The chapter referred to is contained on fol. 116^v of the manuscript (42 Kousis).

¹⁴Felici (note 1 above), 61, maintains this to be the case only in Marc. gr. V 16 and Vatic. gr. 292. But there are at least six, perhaps even eight more manuscripts containing all three texts.

¹⁵Ermerins, 223–75 from Paris. gr. 2224; note, however, that his chapters 1–4 have nothing to do with our treatise (on which they follow in the manuscript) but were arbitrarily prefixed to it by the editor (see his note, p. 224).

¹⁶Ideler, II, 257–81, line 6 (281, lines 7–30 do not belong to this treatise, although they immediately follow it in this or a somewhat longer version in a number of manuscripts). Ideler's edition seems to have escaped Felici's notice. As the two other manuscripts she utilized (Marc. gr. V 16, Vatic. gr. 292) happen, like Ermerins' codex, to belong to the mutilated branch of the tradition, she is under the mistaken assumption that this treatise ends genuinely with σταφίδων 268, 24 Ideler.

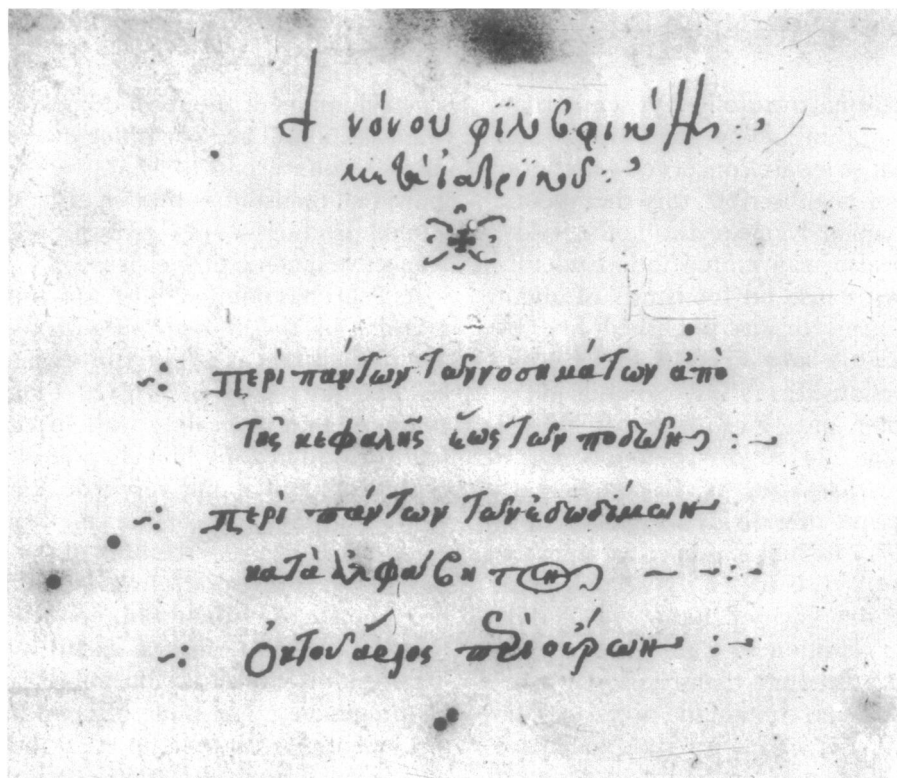
¹⁷L. Cohn, "Bemerkungen zu den konstantinischen Sammelwerken," *BZ*, 9 (1900), 154–60 (only section 1, 154–58, deals with our texts), with edition of the prefaces to both books. Felici (note 1 above) is apparently unaware of this article, as she treats the preface of the first book (none of her manuscripts contains the second preface) as unpublished and gives a new edition of it, accompanied by an Italian translation, 67–69.—As early as 1498 Giorgio Valla published a Latin translation of this treatise in its full form, including both prefaces, from a manuscript (probably Mutinensis gr. 61 which belonged to Valla) in which Michael Psellus is credited with the authorship; see *Georgio Valla . . . Interprete. Hoc in volumine hec continentur, Nicephori logica, Georgij valla libellus de argumentis . . . Venetiis per Simonem Papiensem dictum Beulacum*. 1498. Die ultimo Septembris, y II^v-VI^v. This translation was reprinted under Psellus' name in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The false attribution to Psellus has lived

on to the present day. Not only Bloch (note 1 above), 561, listed it among his works but so does Hunger, "Medizin," 307 with note 24 (the texts are not "only similar" but identical, if one allows for contemporary editing).

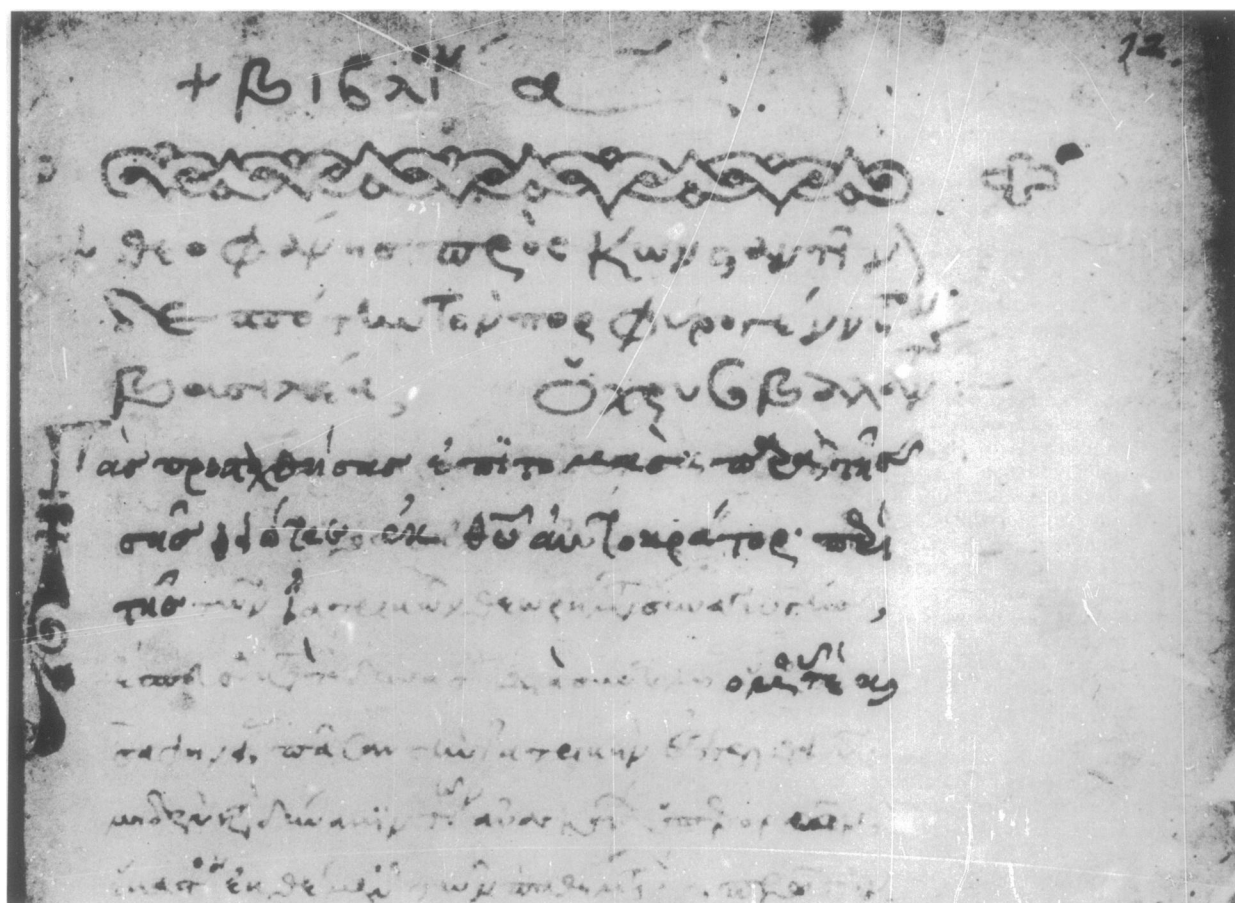
¹⁸Felici, 69, following M. Formentin, "I codici greci di medicina nelle Tre Venezie," *Studi Bizantini e Neogreci*, 5 (1978), 93.

¹⁹Oribasius (ed. Raeder), I, 67–91. Our treatise uses the following chapters of book 3: 15, 17–20, 24, 25, 29, 30, 16, 8–10, 5, 6, 22, 23, 3, 13, 14, 11, 12, 2, 31–34, 27, 28, 26, 21. Book 3 of the *Collectiones* is repeated, except for the first chapter, in book 4 of Oribasius' *Synopsis ad Eustathium*, chapters 1–34 (123–45 Raeder), and with a number of minor abbreviations and transpositions in book 1, chapters 17–51, of his *Libri ad Eumapium* (332–47 Raeder). From a comparison, however, of the texts as printed in Raeder's and Ideler's editions, respectively, it is evident that our text is based on the *Collectiones*, not on the minor books, let alone on Aëtius of Amida, book 2, chapters 239–71, where Oribasius' text recurs again (Aëtius [ed. Oliveri], I–IV [CMG VIII 1], 237–55).

²⁰I, 4–65 Raeder. The following chapters are used: book 1: 15, 16, 5, 17, 18, 20–24, 28, 32, 35–42, 49–57, 60, 61, 64, 65; book 2: 1–4, 12, 13, 17, 22–28, 30, 31–36, 39–44, 46–50, 52–57. Felici goes at some length to explain the peculiarities of the *De alimentis* in Vatic. gr. 292, which follows Oribasius much more closely than the text does in her other two manuscripts, so that it looks almost like a simple excerpt from Oribasius, *Collectiones* 3. Her hypothesis is that the Vatican manuscript contains a first rough draft of the treatise, whereas the other codices present



1. Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Cod. gr. 362, fol. III^v



2. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek. Cod. med. gr. 50, fol. 12

The other text occurring occasionally together with the therapeutic manual is a pharmacopeia, in which the indication and preparation of a large number of composite medicines are described. It is as yet unedited. In the manuscript tradition the text has undergone much editing, sometimes to an extent that renders it hard to follow the thread of what appears to have been the original version. The complete text of this might fill some seventy to eighty pages in print. The material is divided into a number of sections, the first and longest dealing with the antidotes. The remaining sections treat troches, lozenges, various oils, desiccative powders, and potions. The last section, quite large again, is devoted to plasters. The individual chapters first discuss the indications of the particular medicine and then give a detailed account of its ingredients and the way in which it is prepared.²¹

So far, I cannot say much about the sources of this text and the way in which they were used.²² But it is clear that Islamic medicine has not exerted a discernible influence on this treatise. In the manuscript tradition these three texts are combined in various ways. All three may—in different arrangements—be contained in the same manuscript, or a combination of any two of them. Of course each of them may appear in a codex without any of the two

others. The total number of manuscripts of the *De alimentis* which I know of is twenty-eight, of the *De remediis* twenty-four. If these figures are less impressive than that of extant copies of the *De curatione morborum*, they still show that these two texts as well must have circulated quite widely.

It has been noted long ago—but sunk back into oblivion again—that there are indications which link the dietetical treatise to the manual on therapy. Since the time of Peter Lambeck and Charles Du Cange it has been known that for either text there is one witness crediting a certain Theophanes with the authorship.²³ We will have to come back to this later. In 1891 George Costomiris²⁴ maintained that the pharmacopeia belonged to the same author's oeuvre, without, however, corroborating this assertion with any argument beyond the fact that the treatises are—in a number of manuscripts—transmitted side by side. Jeanselme's remarks, likewise, did not go into the matter deeply enough.²⁵ From an analysis of the four little prefaces, however—the two books of the dietetical treatise each have their own proem—it becomes quite probable that indeed these three treatises have been written by one and the same author.

"In the abridgment," the proem of the manual on therapy begins, "commissioned by your godliness, Emperor by the grace of God, concerning the collection of medical teachings, it was my endeavor to treat the entire art of healing as succinctly and clearly as it might be done, without—if possible—overlooking any important point, setting forth each disease, naming clearly, in the first place, their causes, in the next place the symptoms by which they will be recognized easily, subsequently the therapy, by which we will cure each of them *secundum artem*, beginning at the head because the holy rational soul is located there."

This is the entire proem. From this text it becomes evident: that the author had been working

the final version, both going back to the same author. Now Vatic. gr. 292 (fourteenth century) is a most peculiar copy not only of the *De alimentis* but of *De curatione morborum* and the other text accompanying it as well. It is also, as far as I can see, the only witness presenting these peculiarities in any of the treatises. As it is unlikely that the "first draft" of a text like the *De alimentis*, if ever it had been published, should have been preserved in a single manuscript four centuries younger than its compiler, I would rather suggest that Vatic. gr. 292 is, at least as far as our little corpus is concerned, the result of a medical man's attempt at creating a new work by rewriting these three texts. As he was aware of the source of the *De alimentis*, he placed a copy of that source at his side for reference and inspiration. The result is a sort of *Oribasius redivivus*. In his rewriting of the *De curatione morborum* his method had to be different, because there is no similar single source. His "new edition" of the third treatise is so different from the original that it renders it almost completely unrecognizable.

²¹ In a number of manuscripts the first sections of the chapters are omitted. This was prompted by the example of chapters that never had a section specifying the indications of the *compositum* in question. This type of chapter was also traditional; compare e.g., Oribasius, *Synopsis* 3, 138 versus 3, 139 (both p. 103 Raeder).

²² The method of compilation of this text is, it seems, eclectic, as in the manual on therapy. Paul (ed. Heiberg), book 7, chapters 11–20, and Oribasius, *Synopsis*, book 3 seem to be among its sources. They provide, however, only part of the material. Moreover it remains to be clarified whether the passages of our text that are more or less identical with either Paul or Oribasius were taken over directly from these authors or derived from an older common source.

²³ P. Lambeck, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, VI (Vienna, 1674), 115–16, nr. 24, describing Vindob. med. gr. 50. C. Du Fresne, dominus Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, II (Lyon, 1688), in the preface to the Appendix (col. 1/2), quoting from Regius gr. 3496 (today Paris. gr. 2091) an anonymous text for its apology for the use of the vernacular. He adds that in Regius gr. 3502 (today Paris. gr. 1630) the author of the same text is called Theophanes.

²⁴ See note 1 above. Costomiris was the first to draw attention to this text in connection with Theophanes.

²⁵ E. Jeanselme, "Sur un aide-mémoire de thérapeutique byzantin contenu dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris" in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, I (Paris, 1930), 147–70, particularly 164–67.

on commission of a Christian emperor, that he strove to be brief and clear, what the structure of the individual chapters is, and what the work begins with.²⁶ It also becomes clear that the author is not a man of many words.

Let us compare with this first the preface to the dispensatory,²⁷ which is equally short: "The science of antidotes, oils and plasters, which is difficult to understand for the general public, has been presented, though in this writing in a moderate fashion, which will be useful not only during travels but also during sojourns elsewhere. Although in comparison with the supernatural dimensions of our Emperor's learnedness/eloquence (λογιότης) it will appear unworthy, still, since it is of use for the public, I will—beginning with the most important and greatest antidote, I mean theriac—treat subsequently also the remaining medicines."

Again here an author is writing to an emperor, whose erudition is emphasized. If it was underlined in the first preface that the presentation would be brief and clear, it is stressed here that a subject which is hard to understand for most people has been set forth in a comprehensible manner. This will prove to be of use especially in situations in which reliable professional advice may not be easily obtained, as on travels. In conclusion it is said that theriac will be dealt with first, because it is the most important antidote.

This last remark is a striking parallel with the preface of the manual on therapy. In both cases the remark is superfluous as in either book the arrangement of the material has not been devised by the author but simply follows a traditional pattern. The fact that in the foreword to the pharmacopeia a structurally identical remark is made in exactly the same place as in the introduction to the therapeutical treatise strongly suggests that both prefaces—and consequently both treatises—are products of the same mind.

The prefaces of the two books on foods at first sight make a quite different impression. The proem to the first book²⁸ reads:

This again is a work resulting from your forethought and a commission originating from your noble design and love to man. Constantine, greatest and most godly

Emperor, that laymen should know in the same manner as the wise and learned/people of high station (ἐλλόγιμοι) how to use the best and useful foodstuffs and again how to be on their guard and to avoid those that are opposite to them. No one who is able to think a little will criticize us if he sees that we use in the present work words and phrases that carry the odor of the market and the street. For it is in no way because we are ignorant of the best words which are most commonly used among the Greeks that we use barbarous and distorted words—that would be quite absurd even for people who are but moderately educated—but in order that nothing might escape or remain unknown to him who has no share whatsoever in Greek education, we decided to transmit to him what is to be known and understood from the present writing in the most commonly used spoken language. We will put at the beginning the diet producing healthy humors, then the diet that makes neither slender nor fat, next to this the diet that is easily digested. . . .

After this follows the enumeration of the remaining chapters of the first book.

The preface of the second book reads:²⁹

Those foodstuffs, most serene and excellent Emperor Constantine, that belong to a wholesome diet, and the consumption of which is neither unfamiliar nor disgusting nor unsuited, have been made known in brief fashion in the book before this as completely and clearly as was possible. Since some short points remain to be dealt with which belong to a treatment of therapy rather than of hygiene—for instance which foods have a warming and desiccative effect, and so, according to the oppositions, those whose effect is cooling and moisturizing, which are easy of digestion, which are hard to digest and pass slowly through the body, and which even may cause certain diseases, like the foodstuffs that do damage to the head—I will also treat these for you. They are very short and would by themselves not fill a book. But if to them is added [the description] of the natural qualities of the individual foods this book might perhaps become even more voluminous than the first. We will try then, with the help of God and adhering to the former aim—I mean the layman-like and rather coarse presentation, in order to let nothing remain unknown to the common man, who has not tasted of Greek education at all—to deal with them also in the briefest manner.

What at first appears quite different, upon close examination reveals great similarity. The preface to the first book touches on three points: the imperial commission (a new commission!), the comprehensibility of the presentation for the general public, and the arrangement of the material. Exactly the same points are made in the preface to the manual on therapy and also—though in a different sequence—in the remarks introducing the

²⁶ The preface to our manual on therapy is echoed, including the rationale for the beginning at the head, in the prefatory remarks to books 1 and 2 of Leo's *Synopsis* (89, 109 Ermerins).

²⁷ *Editio princeps* with Italian translation by Felici (note 1 above), 63.

²⁸ Edited by Cohn (note 17 above), 156, and again, with Italian translation, by Felici (note 1 above), 67–69.

²⁹ Edited by Cohn (note 17 above), 156–57.

dispensatory. But it looks like the author here has been trying to produce a longer text. The *topos* about the language of the work, for instance, which very appropriately serves to emphasize the point that the book can be understood by anyone, is developed rather broadly. And instead of summarizing the first chapter of the book he bores his readers with a tedious enumeration of all the chapters. Evidently the author had difficulties in varying this preface. He tried to write something different, he tried to write more, but he was unable to produce more than a somewhat extended version of his already known set of ideas. The introduction to the second book with its reference to the first is much more felicitous. The idea, too, that on the one hand what is actually left to be dealt with is hardly enough to form a separate book, whereas on the other hand, if still another section is added, the book may end up exceeding even the size of the first, is a pretty device.

But by emphasis again on the comprehensiveness, conciseness, and clarity of the first book, it reiterates a theme that has played a conspicuous role in the introductory remarks to the manual on therapy. Clarity and brevity are underscored still another time, as characteristics of the second book as well at the end of its preface. Finally, the arrangement of the material is not forgotten; it has found a place in the middle section and consists in a listing of some of the chapters, which reminds us of the long list at the end of the preface to the first book.

So this proem again moves in the same narrow circle of ideas as the others. The close resemblance of all four texts seems to me to suggest that they were all written by the same man, and consequently that all three treatises are indeed fruits of the same pen.

The reference to an earlier imperial commission in the opening phrase of the preface to the first book on foodstuffs gives us a hint as to the sequence in which the treatises have been written. For now that we know that all have been written by one and the same man, we understand that this remark refers to the manual on therapy and the dispensatory. Apparently these were composed—at about the same time—before the dietetical treatise. This indication is confirmed, moreover, by the observation that the dispensatory is a necessary complement to the manual on therapy, since in that treatise composite medicines are frequently prescribed of which just the names are quoted. The ingredients, however, are never given, nor is the

preparation of these medicines described. It seems impossible to me that this characteristic—which, of course, is caused by the peculiarities of the sources of the work—should have escaped the notice of the author, who, if not a man of much rhetoric, was by all means a very competent and conscientious specialist. So the dispensatory is called for if full use is to be made of the manual on therapy.³⁰

Whether a separate treatise on composite prescriptions was envisaged from the outset or the idea developed during the writing of the therapeutical treatise, we cannot say. At any rate, the dispensatory and the manual on therapy form a dyad which was followed by the work on foods at a later stage. The idea of dividing the material of the dietetical work into two books may perhaps even have been prompted by the treatment of curative medicine in two separate writings.

The remark in the proem to the dispensatory that it will prove its usefulness on travels and during stays abroad clearly indicates that the book is intended to be used by laymen. Equally, the people referred to in the prefaces of the books on foodstuffs as lacking education would not seem to be professionals who did not receive sufficient literary

³⁰ Mainly for this reason Felici, 64–66, considers the *De remediis* not a separate treatise but a mere section of the *De curatione morborum*. Its separation might be due to a deliberate replacement of this too complicated part of the work by an abridged version of itself (represented by “the last chapters of the Vienna manuscripts used by Bernard for his edition” of *De curatione morborum*). It is more likely, however, she continues, that the *De remediis* became separated from the work it belonged to simply because its little preface made it look like a separate writing. The awkward gap thus caused motivated some *anonymus* to put together a new section containing the missing information and attach that to the text. First, however, neither does Bernard’s edition contain any addition to Martius’ text at the end of the *De curatione morborum*, nor do the Vienna manuscripts. Secondly, there are at the end of *De curatione morborum* a number of chapters, 284–97 (II 356–66 Bernard), that deal very tersely with the preparation of a few *composita*, mainly cathartics. Only these could be compared with the *De remediis*. The differences, however, in the number of drugs treated and the treatment itself, as well as the very inconsistent transmission of these chapters in the manuscripts, show clearly that they are neither an abridged version of the *De remediis* nor a makeshift for it but simply an accretion of the text developed in its manuscript tradition. The fact, on the other hand, that Felici, 66, compares the treatment of animal bites in the two treatises, shows that apparently she considers all from *De curatione* chapter 261 (II 290 Bernard) on as an equivalent of *De remediis*. But this section quite definitely belongs to the original text of *De curatione*, continuing a tradition of such sections in similar treatises (cf. e.g. Dioscorides, *De simplicibus*, 2, 120–68 [in Dioscorides (ed. Wellmann), III, 299–317]; Oribasius, *Ad Eunapium* 3, 63–72 [430–32 Raeder]; Aetius XIII [ed. Zervos], 268–92; Paul V, 1–58 (ed. Heiberg, II, 5–3g). The difference in treatment is due to the different point of view that governs each of the treatises. The remaining arguments Felici offers for her assumption are also not convincing.

training but rather people who are no experts in medicine.

The introductory remark to the therapy manual gives no indication about the public for which the booklet is written, except perhaps for the phrase that the symptoms of the diseases will be described in a way that will facilitate diagnosis. The close link, however, which exists between the manual on therapy and the dispensatory would suggest, in my opinion, that this treatise is meant to be used by laymen as well.

To sum up what we have been able to establish so far, we can say that we are dealing with a group of three interrelated treatises, intended for the general public, all three written by the same author on commission of the emperor.

Who is the author of these popular little books? Our handbooks call him Theophanes Nonnus. In doing so they follow John Stephen Bernard, who prepared the second of the two editions of the manual on therapy. It was Bernard who established a link between the two names under which the author had been known before.

In the edition of 1568, the author had been called Nonus (sic!), without the Theophanes, in accordance with what Jeremy Martius had found in the manuscript he had been using. Martius thought that this was a name of the old Roman type of counting praenomina like Quintus, Sextus, etc. And he seriously asked himself whether this Nonus had been a Roman by birth or just someone who had been given a Roman name. The misjudgment about the setting of the text implied in this consideration becomes even more striking when we read in the same preface that he opts for the son of Constantine X Ducas (reigned 1059–67) as the *porphyrogenitus* who commissioned the work.³¹

A little over a hundred years after Martius' edition Peter Lambeck in his description of the Greek medical manuscripts in Vienna made known that in one of the manuscripts of the text belonging to the imperial library the name of the author was given as Theophanes. Lambeck, however, did not identify the text of this manuscript as the treatise edited by Martius. Since most scholars, of course, knew about the work from Martius' edition rather than Lambeck's catalog, the author continued to be known and referred to as Nonus. Occasionally "Nonnus" occurs, and rarely "Nonius"—a rather

oversophisticated interpretation of the "Noni" in the title of the first edition.³²

John Freind in his *History of Physick* seems to have been the first to take notice of the other name mentioned in connection with the text, without, however, discussing the problem arising from the discrepancy.³³ This was done at length by Bernard in the preface to his edition.³⁴ He proposes an interesting solution: "Theophanes" he says is the actual name of the author, whereas "Nonus" is an honorary title he had been given. It should be written "Nonnus," no matter what the manuscript may read. This honorific title used to be given to men and women of exemplary piety in ancient times in Egypt. That the author of this treatise has by all means a claim to such a religious title is apparent, Bernard says, from the fact that, speaking in a chapter about the laurel and the fig tree, he does not call them the sacred trees of Apollo and Artemis but prefers to say they are the sacred trees of the sun, a way of putting it which is much more appropriate for a Christian writer.³⁵ Similarly in another chapter, where he quotes a phrase from Paul of Aegina, he changes the improper *κοτταβισμός* into the less offensive *γυμνάσια*.³⁶ Should the reader not be convinced by this explanation but prefer to take "Nonnus" as a polite designation like "dominus," a meaning which is attested as Du Canges has shown—but in his dictionary of medieval Latin as Bernard himself points out!—this would be equally possible since in Byzantine letters doctors are frequently addressed as *κὺρ δίδε* and referred to in the titles of their works in the same manner. So it is perfectly possible that the author of this text should have been designated in a similar way. On the basis of this remarkable argumentation the author has been called Theophanes Nonnus by everyone since Bernard's time.

In view of these various explanations and interpretations it seems advisable to take a fresh look at the original source material. Although in most manuscripts the therapeutical treatise lacks any indication of authorship, there are altogether four

³² For Lambeck see note 23 above. The various forms of the surname are mentioned by Bernard, p. X of the *praefatio*.

³³ J. Freind, *The History of Physick from the Time of Galen to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, I (London, 1725), 253–57.

³⁴ P. VII–XI of the *praefatio*.

³⁵ *De curatione morborum* 260 (259 Bernard says by mistake; II 286–88 Bernard).

³⁶ *De curatione morborum* 185 (II 92 Bernard).

³¹ Page)(ij of the *Epistola dedicatoria*.

different names connected with the text in the manuscript tradition. As we have seen, in one manuscript each the name of the author is given as Theophanes or Nonus. In several other manuscripts two more names occur: Psellus and Oribasius.

The last two attributions are easily discarded. Constantine/Michael Psellus was a well-known polymath. There is hardly a subject he did not write about, and it must be admitted that usually he is well informed. He contributed to medical literature as well. I have no way of knowing whether the recension of Symeon Seth's manual of foodstuffs that bears Psellus' name³⁷ really has anything to do with him. As long as the manuscript tradition of that work has not been thoroughly investigated it seems best to be sceptical. But there is no reason to doubt that the *Carmen de re medica*³⁸ is indeed a product of his pen. And on reading this poem it becomes evident that Psellus was a man of encyclopedic learning and a brilliant writer but that he was not a doctor. In this didactic poem a layman imparts to laymen some rudiments of medical science as an element of their general education. It is not a primer for future physicians. On this general level Psellus was able to contribute to medical literature. An actual manual of medicine on a professional level, as our treatise in spite of its limitations doubtless is, lay beyond his qualifications. That, on the other hand, an anonymous medical writing should have been attributed to Psellus is not surprising if we consider his reputation.

Finally, if Psellus' name does indeed appear in a number of manuscripts, it has to be taken into account that all these codices belong to the same family. So we are not dealing here with a widespread tradition of venerable antiquity but just with a comparatively late reader's or scribe's ambitious conjecture.

No one will seriously consider Oribasius, whose name appears in several codices in the title of our treatise, as the author of this text. Moreover all manuscripts naming Oribasius belong to the same family and even to one of the two sub-families into which it is divided, which makes it clear that again this name is a relatively recent addition, based on the observation, of course, that the opening phrase of the preface is a quotation from that author.

Let us come back to Nonnus. Bernard's ingen-

uous interpretation will not satisfy us any more. So we will have to start again with Nonus, the name by which the author was usually referred to during the first two centuries of his printed existence.

This indication of authorship is indeed contained in the Augsburg manuscript on which the first edition was based. So Martius was by all means justified in publishing the text under this name. It was less appropriate, though perfectly understandable from the point of view of sales promotion, to qualify the author as "medicus clarissimus." This man was not so well known, after all. Actually, no one had ever heard of him before. Of course this made him all the more interesting. Every new figure in Byzantine and Greek literature was readily welcomed in an age that was still very incompletely informed about what had actually come down of this literature.

However, there is something special about this indication of authorship in the manuscript. The name does not form part of or an addition to the title proper of the treatise (fol. 6). Nor is it contained in the relevant lemma of the short table of contents which the scribe who contributed the lesser part to the manuscript has given a place on the verso facing the beginning of the text (fol. III^v, see fig. 1). There the text is likewise nameless. The name appears only in a note which a hand that does not recur elsewhere in the manuscript has added still above that table of contents. It reads: νόνου φιλοσοφικὸν μετὰ ἱατρικοῦ. This note has been written by someone well known: Andreas Darmarios, who between 1558 and 1587 copied innumerable manuscripts and sold still more on extended travels from Italy to Flanders and Spain. In 1566 he is known to have spent some time in Augsburg.³⁹

His merchandise was not always beyond suspicion. It is known that a number of times he was unable to resist the temptation to offer his customers—whom he knew to be always keen on new discoveries—some authors whose claim to literary fame was not founded any better than that of, say, Aristeas or Dionysius Areopagita.⁴⁰

³⁹ For Darmarios see *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, I: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*, Österr. Akad. Wiss., Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 3.1, A: *Verzeichnis der Kopisten*, von E. Gamillscheg und D. Harlfinger (Vienna, 1981), 29, where the relevant literature is given. Monac. gr. 362 is not listed among Darmarios' manuscripts; Prof. O. Kresten very kindly confirms my identification of Darmarios' hand in this codex.

⁴⁰ See O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte: Zu vier Titelfälschungen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *JÖB*, 25 (1976), 207–22, especially 213 ff.

³⁷ See lastly Hunger, "Medizin," 307.

³⁸ Ideler, I, 203–43.

So what are we to think of Nonus? As indicated above, the Augsburg manuscript is the only one containing this name. Not even the manuscript from which it was copied⁴¹ has it. Darmarios cannot, therefore, have found this name in the manuscript tradition of our text. He must have taken it from some other source or fabricated it himself. As a name Νόνος is not attested. What is doubtless meant here is Νόννος. Bernard was quite correct in regarding this orthographical peculiarity as irrelevant. We are familiar with this name mainly through Nonnus of Panopolis, the Egyptian epic poet. From literary sources, inscriptions, papyri and seals we know of quite a number of people of this name from the second century A.D.⁴² down to the early mid-Byzantine period. Nonnus of Panopolis seems to have been the only writer among them. Of a medical author of that name we hear nothing.

The name Νόννος associated with this particular treatise, however, raises still another improbability. One of the sources used for the compilation of this text is the work of Paul of Aegina, written in the middle of the seventh century. At this period the name Νόννος was past the peak of its popularity. I know of only two Νόννοι—at least as far as seals are concerned—who lived in the seventh century or around 700, respectively,⁴³ whereas for the earlier periods the name is much more often attested. After the early eighth century the name disappears altogether. It is therefore most improbable that this text should indeed be the authentic work of a late seventh- or eighth-, let alone ninth-century writer who is otherwise completely unknown and who, in addition to that, is supposed to have borne a name that was practically extinct in his time.

Moreover, where could Darmarios have found this information? Is it conceivable that he might still have been able to use sources that are lost to us today? No, there can be no doubt that we are dealing here with another of Darmarios' falsifications.

⁴¹ Laurent. Antinori 101 in all probability. Felici (note 1 above), 66, maintains that in Vatic. gr. 292 the *De alimentis* is attributed to "Teofane Nonno." The manuscript, however, contains no indication of authorship with any of the three treatises we are dealing with here. In all three cases the names have been supplied by the catalogers (see G. Mercati-P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, I: *Codices 1-329* [Rome, 1923], 406).

⁴² *SIG*, II, 559, no. 847.

⁴³ See G. Zacos-A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I.2 (Bâle, 1972), 745, no. 1183 (Νόννου, seventh century) and V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V.1 (Paris, 1963), 744-45, no. 942 (Νόννου μητροπόλεως, seventh/eighth century; in his publication of the Orghidan seals collection Laurent had dated this seal to the seventh century).

It is done most dexterously and quite clumsily at the same time. On one hand, in an age that was much interested in everything connected with late antique philosophy and "theosophy," of which Egypt was considered the principal focus, Darmarios could be sure to arouse interest with a name and an indication of content that pointed in that direction. Less felicitous was the idea to label this of all texts as φιλοσοφικὸν μετὰ ἱατρικοῦ, since anyone who read but one page of it would realize that the philosophical substance of this text is nil. Perhaps the Augsburg city fathers lacked the time for a proper examination so that they quickly bought what might turn out to be a spectacular find. Darmarios, at any rate, achieved his aim.

We are left, then, with the testimony of the Vienna codex. From the transcript of that manuscript which he obtained from Vienna, Bernard learned that the title of the work read not only Θεοφάνης πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον δεσπότην τὸν πορφυρογέννητον βασιλέα, as Lambeck had written, but Θεοφάνης πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον δεσπότην τὸν πορφυρογέννητον βασιλέα, ὁ Χρυσοβαλάντης. Whether Lambeck simply forgot to report this or scholarly vanity induced him to suppress what he did not understand need not concern us. Bernard, at any rate, did not know what to make of this and asked John Bolla, who had transcribed the manuscript for him, for his opinion.⁴⁴

Bolla wrote him that he thought this was a personal name, perhaps the name of a scribe. As to what the name might be derived from, one could think of the monastery τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου, mentioned by (Pseudo-)Codinus,⁴⁵ although this was not very likely. More appropriately it might be derived from χρυσόβαλα or χρυσοβάλανον—that is, "golden suppository"—which would make a perfect epithet for a doctor. Finally, Bolla asks, could it not be an epithet of Theophanes which was added by someone subsequently? The comma preceding the name might indicate this. Bernard could not bring himself to like any of these ideas. So he reported them but left the matter at that.

If one looks at the manuscript,⁴⁶ which is of the fourteenth century, one realizes at once that this second name is not a later addition. The entire title has been written—in red—by the first hand. It is

⁴⁴ Bernard's *praefatio*, XIII-XIV.

⁴⁵ He is thinking of the story in the Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 3.76 (*Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, II [Leipzig, 1907], 243) which he knew of through Du Cange's dictionary.

⁴⁶ Vindob. med. gr. 50, fol. 12; see fig. 2.

divided into three lines. The little fenestra between βασιλέα and ὁ Χρυσοβαλάντης in the third line is an indication neither for a subsequent addition nor for the omission of an illegible word which the model of the manuscript had in that place. It is simply due to the care devoted to the design of the title. The scribe wanted the last line to begin and end flush with the two above it. In order to obtain this graphic effect he moved apart the words in the line, joining, of course, the article to its noun. Likewise, the final punctuation does not stand in the margin by accident, because, say, an addition to the title turned out to be longer than was anticipated. A comparison with the little cross standing in the margin before the title will make clear that it was quite deliberately put in the place where it stands.

Finally, if ὁ Χρυσοβαλάντης were to be a later addition, βασιλέα would have to be followed by final punctuation. But what we see there is a comma, and nothing else has ever stood there; there are no traces of alterations. So the entire title, as it stands, must be considered genuine. In itself it should not cause the difficulties Bernard and Bolla had in interpreting it. The beginning and end of this title give us, in a typical Byzantine hyperbaton, the Christian name and the surname of the author. So, according to this manuscript, the author of the three treatises we are concerned with here seems to have been called Θεοφάνης Χρυσοβαλάντης.

There seems to be no trace of a Byzantine family bearing this name. But there is a family with a name that is very similar: the Χρυσοβαλαντίται.⁴⁷ Several members of this family are mentioned in sources of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.⁴⁸ It could, therefore, be that our author was a member of the Χρυσοβαλαντίτης family.

Another possibility is that our Theophanes was

somehow affiliated with the monastery τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου, in Constantinople. No hospital is mentioned in connection with this convent, but among its churches and chapels was one dedicated to St. Michael, and another dedicated to St. Panteleemon. This could reflect the existence of a hospital which may have been too insignificant to attract general attention. If such a hospital did indeed exist, Theophanes may have been given his surname because he served as a physician there.^{48a}

As it is somewhat awkward that only a single manuscript should have preserved the name of the author of these relatively popular treatises,⁴⁹ it cannot be but welcome that at least his first name is confirmed by a second witness, referred to already by Du Cange.⁵⁰ Paris. gr. 1630 (fourteenth century) contains, among other medical texts, a fragment of the preface to the first book of the *De alimentis* (fol. 27^v). It comprises only five lines and a half, the first sentence. As the remainder of the page is left blank, the model from which this text was copied seems to have been equally incomplete. Next to the title of this fragment, however, stands, in the outer margin but copied by the same scribe, a name: Θεοφάν(ους). It is hardly conceivable that this neither too common nor particularly prominent name should appear in connection with two different treatises, originating with the same author, by mere coincidence.

There is, to my knowledge, no testimony to the person, time of life, or work of Theophanes Chrysobalantes/Chrysobalantites except the treatises themselves. It is only a scholarly tradition by which our author is linked to Constantine VII. Martius thought that the son of Constantine X Ducas might have been the *porphyrogenitus* who commissioned the work, only because the prince's father was a patron of learning.⁵¹ A hundred years later, Lambeck⁵²

⁴⁷I would like to thank professors A. Kazhdan and N. Oikonomides for supplying references to members of this family.

⁴⁸John Chrysobalantites, eleventh century: V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, II (Paris, 1981), 92–93, no. 200 (in the form Χρ(υ)σ[ο]βαλαντ(ι)της); Constantine Chrysobalantites, second half of the eleventh century: *ibid.*, 482–83, no. 910 (in the form Χρυσ[ο]βαλαντ(ι)της); NN Chrysobalantites, mid-eleventh century, perhaps identical with the foregoing: referred to by Psellus, *ep.* 64 (Μιχαὴλ Ψελλοῦ Ἱστορικοὶ λόγοι, ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέκδοτα, ed. K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, V [Venice-Paris, 1876], 296); Theodore Chrysobalantites, probably late eleventh or early twelfth century: N. Wilson-J. Darrrouzès, "Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xerchoraphion," *REB*, 26 (1968) 5–47, no. 9, p. 34, line 34 of the document (in the form Χρυσ(ο)βαλαντίτης); Anna Chrysobalantitu, thirteenth century: mentioned in a document prepared by Demetrius Chomatenus, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. J. B. Pitra, VI (Paris-Rome, 1891), 420.

^{48a}For the monastery see R. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, I, 3: *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd. ed. (Paris, 1969), 66, 154, 350, 387, 540–41.

⁴⁹The testimony of the Vienna codex does not, however, have to be mistrusted for the sole reason that so far it is the only witness bearing this name, especially since Chrysobalantes/Chrysobalantites is not a name that would have come easily to the mind of anyone wishing to christen an anonymous text.

⁵⁰See note 23 above. Cohn (note 17 above), 155, also referred to this manuscript as it is the model for many of the texts contained in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philipp, 1566, including this fragment (together with the name) from *De alimentis* (fol. 32^v).

⁵¹Unlikely as Martius' suggestion is in itself, it is ruled out by the fact that we now know that this prince's name was probably not Constantine but Constantius, see D. J. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), 48.

⁵²Not in the text but only in the indexes of his catalog of the Vienna medical manuscripts (note 23 above), 213, 215.

suggested that the *porphyrogenitus* and imperial patron of learning *par excellence*, Constantine VII, was the addressee of the little book. This identification seemed so obvious that without further discussion it was universally accepted and Theophanes was even promoted to the rank of personal physician of the ailing emperor.⁵³ In view of the complete lack of external evidence for this identification it seems useful to look in the texts themselves for any indications that might confirm it. In this respect it is of interest to pay attention to the historical perspective into which Theophanes' works and his manual on therapy in particular are placed. The preface to this work begins with the phrase Τὰς προσταχθείσας ἐπιτομὰς παρὰ τῆς σῆς θεϊότητος, ἐκ Θεοῦ αὐτοκράτορ. . . . These are exactly the same words with which the preface to Oribasius' *Collectiones medicae* begin, only the address is, of course, different there: αὐτοκράτορ Ἰουλιανέ. Since Theophanes' treatise is not based on Oribasius' *Collectiones* at all, this is not simply the first of many borrowings from a plagiarized source. These words are quoted in order to highlight the parallel situation: Theophanes is writing on commission of His Most Christian Majesty as the great Oribasius had been doing on commission of Julian.⁵⁴ Theophanes is the new Oribasius. On commission of the ruler he writes what—by virtue of this commission—constitutes, so to speak, the official contribution to medical literature of his time.

The immense discrepancy in size and substance which exists between his modest treatise and Oribasius' vast work cannot have escaped Theophanes. So the claim implied in this quotation could seem foolishly arrogant or simply in bad taste. But it is not impossible that this program did not originate with Theophanes but was thought up by his patron, who saw in Julian's patronage over the celebrated work of Oribasius an example worth imi-

tating in his own patronage of letters. One must admit that of all *porphyrogeniti* Constantine VII would be the most likely to have devised such an ambitious concept.⁵⁵

The fact that none of the three treatises shows influences from the Islamic orient may also be significant. To be sure, much is still to be investigated in the field of Islamic influence on Byzantine medicine. But as far as we can see at the moment, the large-scale importation of Islamic material by the way of translations did not begin before the end of the tenth century.⁵⁶ Of course, this cannot be but an argument *ex silentio*. Still the absence of any Islamic influences may be a slight indication that our texts were compiled prior to that period.

A final consideration regards the first name of the author. As we have seen in the case of Νόννος, given names have their history. For the period from 500 A.D. to the middle of the fifteenth century I know from various sources—seals, manuscripts, archival documents—of fifty-two men named Theophanes whose time of life is more or less certain. Of these, thirty-six lived before, sixteen after the year 1000. The years from about 650 to 900 form the period of greatest popularity of the name: twenty-eight of the fifty-two people bearing it lived in these centuries.

In addition to sheer frequency, it is important to consider the social position of these men. Of the thirty-six namesakes of our author who lived before the year 1000, twenty-four were government officials, two bishops and six monks (four cannot be assigned to any specific group). Of the sixteen people attested for the centuries after the year 1000, only two were government officials, two seem to have belonged to the secular clergy, four were bishops, and five monks (three cannot be assigned). So it looks like "Theophanes" was a generally popular, indeed very popular, given name in the late seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Its popularity

⁵³ See e.g., Théodoridès (note 1 above), G. K. Pournaropoulos, Θεοφάνης ὁ Νόννος, ὁ ἀρχίατρος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Κωνσταντίνου Ζ' τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου, Πρακτικά τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἑταιρείας Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἱατρικῆς, and simultaneously in the monthly Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ ἱατρικὴ, 28 (1964; accessible to me only in an offprint without the original pagination) and, more cautiously, Felici (note 1 above), 59, who, however, in turn declares him to have been "massima autorità in campo medico."

⁵⁴ This is emphasized also by the echo of the title of Oribasius' main work—Ἱατρικαὶ συναγωγαί—in the words with which Theophanes continues his preface: περὶ τῆς τῶν ἱατρικῶν θεωρημάτων συναγωγῆς. Note that the phrase ἐκ Θεοῦ αὐτοκράτορος is perhaps not only a standard expression but may be used in order to put emphasis on the fact that the present work is not flawed by an unacceptable religious persuasion like that of Julian and Oribasius.

⁵⁵ The phrase τὸ ὑπερφυλὲς τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῶν λογιότητος, which occurs in the preface to the dispensatory (Felici, [note 1 above] 63, line 8 f. of the Greek text) may refer to the actual learnedness of the addressee, in which case Constantine VII again would be the most likely *porphyrogenitus* to be referred to in this way. But as λογίτης from about the fourth century A.D. on can also be used as a mere amplification in addressing or referring to people politely (see e.g., Basil the Great, *ep. 1* [PG 32, 221B]; Isidore of Pelusium, *ep. V 125* [PG 78, 1396D]) is too weak to be used even as an indicium.

⁵⁶ The first major work to be translated seems to have been Abū Ḡa'far's Ἐφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος, cf. Hunger, "Medizin," 306. (Constantine of Rheim, who produced the Greek version, and Constantine the African, who translated the work into Latin, are not, however, one and the same person.)

declined in the tenth century and after the year 1000 it very quickly became exclusively a religious name. Again this is but an indication that our Theophanes is more likely to have lived in the tenth century, in which this name was still relatively common, than in the eleventh. All the more so since, if Constantine VII was not his patron, the next possible candidate for this role⁵⁷ would in theory be Constantine, the son of Michael VII Ducas and fiancé of Anna Comnena. But the fact that, even allowing for Byzantine rhetorical exuberance, it is hardly conceivable that a prince who may not have

reached even the age of twenty-one could have been addressed in the way the *porphyrogenitus* of our texts is, rules out this possibility as well. The further down we go, however, the less probable becomes the figure of a layman named Theophanes.

These are the only indicia at our disposal for narrowing down the lifetime of the author. None of them provides a cogent proof. Still, they point in the same direction: that Θεοφάνης Χρυσοβαλάντης/Χρυσοβαλαντίτης indeed lived in the tenth century. We may, therefore, with reasonable confidence continue to consider his writings as the contribution to medical literature from the circle of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.

⁵⁷ It is totally improbable that Constantine VIII, who of course was a *porphyrogenitus*, could have initiated these works.